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An Address

DELIVERED BEFORE THE
NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
AT THE CELEBRATION OF ITS
SEVENTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY,
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1876.

BY
FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, LL.D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.



NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY.
ISSUED FEBRUARY 22, 1877.

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MDCCCLXXVI.

SEVENTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY.

At a special meeting of the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, held in its Hall, on Tuesday evening, December 19, 1876, to celebrate the Seventy-second Anniversary of the founding of the Society, the First Vice-president, WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, LL.D., presided.

In accordance with the course observed on similar commemorative occasions the Rev. WILLIAM ADAMS, D.D., LL.D., and President of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, at the request of the presiding officer offered up a very impressive and appropriate prayer.

Mr. Bryant then introduced the President of the Society as the orator of the evening, and said :

Gentlemen of the New York Historical Society—The gentleman whom your suffrages have constituted the President of this Society needs no formal introduction from me when about to appear before you. Lately we listened with interest to a discourse of his, which may be designated as a monograph of William the Third. This evening he will conduct us through what I may call a gallery of the intellectual portraits of the representative men by whom the reign of that monarch was illustrated. I present to you Mr. de Peyster, who will address you.

The President, FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, LL.D., then delivered the Anniversary Address, the subject being : “Representative Men of the English Revolution.”

On the conclusion of the address, Hon. JAMES W. BEEKMAN, Second Vice-president, submitted a resolution, and spoke as follows :

I submit to the Society a proposition which I am sure will meet with an unanimous response :

To the wise care of the Dutch Stadtholder, who was afterwards William the Third of England, the Colonies that became these United States of America owed much.

Education and liberty of conscience, brought over by him from Holland into England, were in turn transmitted under his government to the Western Continent.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel into Foreign Parts was chartered by William III., and was the crowning glory of a ruler who had vetoed the Massachusetts law that punished witchcraft with death, had established William and Mary College in Virginia, originated the Society Library in New York, sent Halley the astronomer to America, and instructed the Earl of Bellomont to educate the people at large, including the Negroes and the Indians.

Such a sovereign drew around him men of like ability, and for the admirable commemoration just given us of John Locke, Sir Isaac Newton, Dryden, Dean Swift, Bishop Stillingfleet, Sir William Temple, and Marlborough, our hearty thanks are due.

It is fitting that a descendant of Col. Abraham de Peyster—who, as Senior and Presiding Member of the King's Council, administered *pro. tem.* the affairs of this Province, in 1700—should remind us of these illustrious contemporaries and subjects of the Great Hollander who secured in England the liberty of the press and of religion, and who established there honest finance and ministerial responsibility.

Abraham de Peyster, as Alderman, Mayor of New York City, Colonel commanding the Militia, Horse and Foot, of the City and County of New York, Judge of the Supreme Court, and Treasurer of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, was eminent as a defender of popular freedom in the Colonies. He was virtually the Finance Minister on whom a succession of the Royal Governors relied, and he deserves to be ranked among the ablest public men of the reign of the Third William of England.

I move, therefore, the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the President of the Society, FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, Esq., LL.D., for his learned and able address delivered before the Society this evening, and that a copy be requested for publication.

Mr. Bryant, on putting the question, said :

You have heard the resolution, gentlemen ; it is seconded, and I am sure will meet with your hearty approval. The profound attention which you have given to the discourse of our President testifies to your sense of its merits, and you will readily adopt a resolution which so well expresses the pleasure it has given us.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

[Extract from the Minutes.]

ANDREW WARNER,
Recording Secretary.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1876.



PRESIDENT,
FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, LL.D.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT,
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, LL.D.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT,
JAMES W. BEEKMAN.

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ANDREW WARNER, *Secretary.*

[The President, Librarian, and Chairman of the Executive Committee are members, *ex-officio*, of the Committee on the Fine Arts.]



REPRESENTATIVE MEN

OF THE

ENGLISH REVOLUTION.



HERE is no period more memorable in English History than that which is known as the English Revolution. This period marks a transition in the opinions and institutions of England, which have placed that country in the front rank, among the nations, in modern progress and reform. Everything, therefore, which helps to illustrate the true character of this period is of universal interest, especially to the English speaking populations of the world.

I would claim, moreover, that the whole subject of the influence which produced, and the effects which have followed from the English Revolution, in 1688, is of the deepest possible interest to us, in this coun-

try, who are members of the great English family, and have inherited so much that is precious and glorious in English institutions and life. In this centennial year, in which we celebrate, under such auspicious circumstances, the close of the first century of our country's history, it may be well for us to remember that, in addition to all the various political, intellectual, and social influences which come to us from the period of the English Revolution, our forefathers of a hundred years ago found in that memorable event, in their mother country, the principles which imperatively demanded, and the precedent which abundantly justified the American Revolution.

In directing your thoughts to a subject so vast in its relations as the English Revolution, it seems best that we should confine our attention to some prominent and significant phase of that period. In pursuing this method, we shall but follow the advice of Plato, who says: "Let us pursue the inquiry, not in relation to all ideas, lest the multitude of them should confuse us, but let us select a few of those which are reckoned to be the principal ones." With the purpose of bringing out as fully as possible, within the brief limits permitted me, the true character of this period, and its influence in establishing those principles of which we claim, in this country, to be, in a very important sense, the true exponents, I would ask your attention to a consideration of the

character and influence of some of the prominent men of that period. In carrying out this purpose, I would select those men who may be regarded as typical of the class to which they belong—the loftiest peaks in the mountain ranges by which they are surrounded.

There is a very common tendency to exaggerate the power of individual influence in critical periods in history. A philosophical view of history will recognize in it a divine purpose and plan, which works out its ends independently, to a great extent, of individual influence. There is a predetermined development in which individuals work blindly, without a full understanding of the results to which their efforts contribute. But, on the other hand, it would be unphilosophical and vain to deny the powerful influence which individuals may consciously and purposely exercise upon the great developments of history. They are divine instruments, and still self-conscious and free, in the evolution of the grandest processes and results in the progress of the world.

In the unfolding of this subject we need some law by which the grouping of these representative men may be determined. There must be some principle which will give unity to the presentation, and show how each life, in its own sphere, contributes to the result contemplated by a higher power. This law it is not difficult to discover, and this unity discloses

itself readily to the thoughtful mind. The spheres of human energy and power which sway the destinies of mankind are found in metaphysics, in natural philosophy, in literature and poetry, in theology, and ecclesiology, in statesmanship, and in arms. It is my purpose to select, in these spheres of influence, those who may be justly regarded as representative men in the period of the English Revolution.

The grand figure among them all, which first rises before our view, is that of William, the Prince of Orange, the third of that name upon the throne of England. The splendor of his lineage; the vast responsibility and power to which by his birth he found himself called; the wonderful successes which he achieved in the stupendous objects, both in his own native land and in England, which he purposed to accomplish; the magnificent position assigned him, by Providence, as the principal instrument in this great crisis in England's history,—all these invest his career with unparalleled interest and importance.

This central and most prominent figure in this great drama I wish to approach by first carefully considering the position and influence of some of the celebrated men by whom he was surrounded.

In turning our thoughts to the realm of metaphysics or speculative philosophy, we find, as the representative man of his period, no less distinguished a philosopher than John Locke. Whatever may be



WILLIAM KONING VAN ENGELAND
Schotland Vrankryk en Yrland.

thought of the character and effects of his philosophy, there have been few men in the history of the world who have exercised so powerful an influence upon the opinions and practical affairs of mankind. John Locke was a legitimate outgrowth of those tendencies in human thought which had culminated in the philosophy of Lord Bacon. He belonged necessarily to the school, although he would have dissented from many of the opinions, of the French Encyclopædists, and of the English Utilitarians. He himself imparted a powerful impulse to that tendency, which finally took form in the utilitarian ethics of Paley, in the theories of Jeremy Bentham and James and John Stuart Mill, and in the German and English scientific materialism of the present day. In regard to very much of this philosophical development we cannot but regard the influence of Locke as exceedingly undesirable; but there are other respects in which he met a great want of his age, and contributed pre-eminently to the solving of problems of the greatest importance to the world. I should say that his great merit lay in restricting, for the time being, the limits of human inquiry, and thus directing all the energies of the mind to the investigation of those phenomena which are connected with the material interests of society. In the time of the English Revolution, when institutions were taking to themselves new shapes, this careful study of the material phenomena of life,

upon the basis of observation and experience, was of pre-eminent importance.

The life of John Locke touches at several points some of the most prominent events connected with the English Revolution. He was born in 1632, and died in 1704. His principal work—the *Essay on the Human Understanding*—was written in 1670. He held various offices under Government, through the favor of his patron, the Earl of Shaftesbury. When, in 1682, Shaftesbury fell under the displeasure of the Government, being charged with high treason, and was compelled to flee to Holland, he was accompanied by Locke. In 1688 his celebrated letter to Limbarch on Toleration was published, and in the same year he returned to England in the fleet which bore the Prince of Orange. He immediately received the appointment of Commissioner of Appeals, which he held until the failure of his health. He refused to hold it longer, and declined a higher office tendered him by the king, and a pension from the Government, declaring himself unwilling to receive any emolument for which he rendered no equivalent. The closing years of his life were spent in the study of the Scriptures and in the writing of works illustrating the truths of Christianity.

The sources of the powerful influence which Locke has exercised upon the thought of the world are to be found mainly in his two works, the one on the



Human Understanding, the other on Toleration. In the first he attempts to explode the theory of innate ideas, and to base all knowledge upon observation and experience. Locke's view of this great question is undoubtedly very defective; but it acquired such ascendancy that it became one of the most fruitful causes of that careful consulting of observation and experience, and that eminently practical character, which has marked the political administration and reform policy of England, from the accession of William and Mary to the present day. The work on Toleration is so masterly a vindication of the principles upon which the duty and expediency of Toleration rest, that it had at once its influence in determining the tolerant policy of the Government, and has ever since stood unrivalled and undisputed as the one great authority upon this subject.

In the first Preliminary Dissertation to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Mr. Dugald Stewart has preserved for us a very remarkable correspondence between Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke. Sir Isaac had, as he was afterwards convinced, seriously misunderstood some of Locke's positions, and had condemned them with great severity. In a letter to Locke he expresses the deepest regret, on this account, and humbly implores his forgiveness. Locke's reply is a model of manly Christian feeling.

We pass thus naturally, in the consideration of the

great men of the English Revolution, from John Locke to Sir Isaac Newton, and from the realm of metaphysics to that of natural philosophy. That the enormous development of industrial interests and of scientific discovery, in modern times, has been dependent upon a knowledge of the laws of nature, no one will doubt. The fact, then, that Sir Isaac Newton lived in the period of the English Revolution marks that period as the most memorable, in all history, for the discovery of the fundamental laws of nature. The discovery of these laws by Sir Isaac Newton, and the wonderful instrumentalities for investigation and calculation which he devised, have made him, more than any other man, a great impelling power in the stupendous industrial and scientific development of the last two hundred years.

Sir Isaac Newton was born in 1642, and, though apparently of feeble constitution, lived to more than eighty-four years of age, and, during almost the whole of this period, with rare intervals of prostration, was able to perform a prodigious amount of mental labor. Under William III. his great services to science were recognized; and the king, in 1694, made him Warden of the Mint, in which office his chemical and mathematical abilities enabled him to superintend successfully the difficult work of the recoinage of the money of the realm.

The principal discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton were



JOHN LOCKE.

those of the composition of light, of the attraction of gravitation, and of fluxions, or of the integral and differential calculus. All these are of the utmost importance in scientific inquiry and mechanical inventions.

The extraordinary penetration of Newton's mind and the accuracy of his method are wonderfully indicated in the fact that some of his discoveries have been assailed, and unsuccessfully, by men of the highest intellectual ability. Bishop Berkeley, with all the power of his keen and subtle intellect, contested the principles involved in fluxions ; and Goethe, in his *Farbenlehre*, has passionately attempted to controvert the doctrine of the composition of light ; but the Newtonian theories hold their place as established facts. It is true that previous investigations had largely prepared the way for the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, and that he must share with Leibnitz the glory of having devised the integral and differential calculus. But no man who ever lived, if we except Kepler, has had the genius of discovery which Newton possessed. His power of sustained investigation and profound thought, his entire emancipation from the influence of preconceived ideas, and his marvellous insight into nature, make him pre-eminently the great discoverer in the realm of natural philosophy.

In considering the services which Sir Isaac New-

ton rendered to science, it is fitting that some allusion should be made to the astronomer Halley. The latter had for some time been carefully studying Kepler's laws, and had come to the conclusion that "the centripetal force must decrease in proportion to the squares of the distances reciprocally." Kepler was unable, however, to give mathematical or geometrical expression to this conclusion. He consulted, in the first place, Mr. Hooke and Sir Christopher Wren; but they were unable to give him the information he desired. He then went to Cambridge to consult with Sir Isaac, who immediately furnished him with the process by which the conclusion was reached.

Halley urged that it should be given to the world, and the result was the "*Principia Mathematica Philosophiæ Naturalis*," which was thereupon published under Halley's care and at his expense; and, furthermore, with an appropriate introduction, was by him presented to James II. in 1686.

It would be impossible to measure the vast extent of Newton's influence upon scientific progress in England and throughout the world; but it is safe to say that there has been no great scientific discovery, and no triumph of engineering skill for nearly two centuries, which has not been immensely indebted to the methods and instrumentalities devised by him.

As we stand, in this centennial year in our coun-



try's history, in the presence of the vast exhibition of the industry of all nations, we can approach nearer perhaps than in any other way to an estimate of what Sir Isaac Newton has accomplished for mankind.

The discovery of the attraction of gravitation has given accuracy and precision to those calculations upon which safety in commerce so largely depends ; and these products of the natural resources and industry and art of the most distant portions of the world testify, therefore, to the indebtedness of mankind to the great discoverer.

The artist owes to the discovery of the composite character of light much of the facility with which brilliant effects in color are produced. And all this stupendous sweep of machinery, so instinct with skill and power, is the expression of mathematical processes which the calculus of Sir Isaac Newton has alone rendered possible.

In passing to the literary character and influence of this period, no one can be compared, for a moment, as the representative man, with Jonathan Swift. Of obscure birth, a great part of his life spent in little better than menial positions and in bitter penury, he raised himself, at last, by sheer intellectual power to an equality with the most distinguished men of the realm. He was born in 1667, and died in 1741, and thus his life was contemporary

with the great events of the English Revolution. Although an ecclesiastic and the Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, it is as a political satirist that he is best known to the world. In this sphere of literature he has probably never been equalled by any writer in the English language; and although the controversies which called forth his principal productions have long since passed away, his mastery of his mother tongue, and the intense keenness of his satire, have secured for him an easy pre-eminence down to the present day.

After leaving the University, Swift was employed as an amanuensis by Sir William Temple, at a salary of £20 a year. This relation was bitterly humiliating to Swift, who was conscious of possessing abilities incomparably superior to those of his patron. These abilities seem to have been to some degree recognized, however inadequately they may have been rewarded, by Sir William Temple. He employed Swift, on a certain occasion, to present his views, on the question of triennial parliaments, to William III., who had requested his opinion on that subject. The king seems to have been more impressed with his physical than his intellectual superiority, and offered him a troop of horse. This proposition was subsequently commuted, it would appear, for a promise of some Church preferment. Swift accordingly gave up his position, and took orders in



Jonat: Swift.

Ireland. Shortly afterwards, however, he returned to England, and entered again into the service of Sir William Temple, with whom he remained until the death of the latter, in 1698.

Swift, having made the best use of the opportunities for acquiring political knowledge afforded him during his residence with Sir William Temple, now entered upon his career as a political writer. He first devoted his extraordinary powers of sarcasm to the service of the Whigs; but subsequently joined the Tories, in behalf of whose cause most of his literary labors were undertaken. Swift's first prose publication, "The Battle of the Books," bears marks of his resentment against his kinsman, Dryden, who had once said to him, "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet." This work was followed by the "Discourse on the Dissensions in Athens and Rome," written in the Whig interest, and shortly after by that extraordinary publication, the "Tale of a Tub." About this time occurred the conversion of Swift to the doctrines of the Tory party, and ultimately to the extreme and exclusive position of Bolingbroke. He was rewarded, by a Tory Ministry, with the Deanery of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

There is no occasion to deal here with questions involving the personal character of Dean Swift. Suffice it to say, that in regard to certain most extraordinary and romantic incidents in his life, what-

ever suspicious circumstances there may have been, they are readily explicable, without reflecting upon the purity of his character, but not without leaving a most painful impression of his selfishness and heartlessness.

Dean Swift was a man of intensely bitter prejudices and hatred, and this quality imparts sometimes a venom to his satire. He hated not only his enemies, but apparently the whole race; no class, however exalted, escaping his ridicule. An example of the ferocity of his wit is to be found in a celebrated passage of his in regard to the Irish bishops. He says: "It is quite a mistake to blame the English Government for sending us bad bishops; it is invariably careful to select men of the purest morals and most fervent piety. The misfortune is, that as these estimable prelates cross Hounslow Heath, on their way to their dioceses, they are invariably stopped and murdered by the highwaymen, which unprincipled persons assume their robes and their patents and come over here in their place, to the injury and scandal of true religion among us." Another instance of the terrible irony of his satire is to be found when he is commenting upon legislation in regard to the poor, and proposes the fattening of the babies of the lower classes in order to furnish an additional source of food.

The relation of Dean Swift's influence to the prog-

ress of the nation, upon the basis of the Revolution, is a very interesting subject for consideration. He became, by the force of circumstances, and probably, also, from the necessities of his own temperament, intensely conservative. Having rendered, early in life, distinguished services to the Whig party, and thus given his powerful influence to the principles of the Revolution, he, later in life, gave the vast power of his intellect to the most extreme form of Toryism. This fact in the career of Swift is a suggestive one. Its significance would seem to be that satire, like that of Dean Swift, is very apt to ally itself finally with that cause which is narrow and exclusive, whether in Church or State. Genial satire, like that of Rabelais or Cervantes, allies itself naturally with the cause of progress and reform; but the sardonic wit of a satirist like Dean Swift, indicates a want of faith in man and of hope in his future, which is inconsistent with anything large and generous in political ideas. It moves in the sphere from which solid argument and enlightened reason are necessarily excluded. Notwithstanding, therefore, the splendid abilities of Dean Swift, and the powerful influence which in his lifetime he exercised, he has left no political lesson for posterity. He has aided in the solution of no great social problem, has contributed nothing to the alleviation of the condition of the laboring and the poor. He is remembered chiefly

for his literary pre-eminence and the brilliant halo which he cast over the reigns of William and Mary and of Anne.

In our consideration of the intellectual influences of this period, we pass naturally to the career of John Dryden. Many English poets have largely influenced the political and literary tendencies of the period to which they belonged, but Dryden was pre-eminently a political poet, and actually founded a new school of English literature. He is, therefore, not only one of the representative men of the period we are considering, but is one of the great names in English history.

Dryden's early literary career was not very full of promise. He wrote with great rapidity, and with consequent carelessness. His success, however, was sufficient to excite the envy and hatred of the Earl of Rochester and the Duke of Buckingham. The Earl of Rochester subjected him to a most unfair mortification at court, and the Duke of Buckingham made his productions the subject of ridicule in the "Rehearsal." In revenge for these attacks, Dryden published an "Essay on Satire," which administered a severe castigation to the Earl of Rochester, and "Absalom and Achitophel," in which the character of Zimri is drawn as representative of that of the Duke of Buckingham. Dryden wrote in 1680 a translation of two of Ovid's Epistles, and in 1682 his "Reli-



DRYDEN.

gio Laici," which he intended to be a defence of Christianity. In the reign of James II., Dryden wrote, in justification of his change in religious sentiments, "A Defence of the Papers left by the late King," and his celebrated poem, "The Hind and the Panther." These were followed by the satirical poem, "Mac-Flecknoe," by several translations from French and Latin, by the grand version of the works of Virgil, and, in extreme old age, by the famous "Ode to St. Cecilia's Day."

The influence of Dryden upon English literature, and especially upon English poetry, has been marked and powerful. As Lord Macaulay well says of him, he did not belong to the highest class of poets, but in the second class he stood first. It must be remembered, however, that a great change took place in Dryden during his literary career, and that it is to the works written in the latter part of his life that his fame and influence are due. The great service which he rendered to literature is to be found in the capabilities of the English language which he developed. Before his time it had not yielded readily to varied and complex versification, and had successfully resisted the efforts which had been made to make it the vehicle of scientific expression or of logical processes in a poetical form. In Dryden, however, it found a master. There is a marvellous felicity, dignity, and clearness in Dryden's later productions; and

after a long interval, in which succeeding poets seem to have profited little by his success, his influence is apparent in some of the best poetry of this and preceding generations. Wordsworth's lucidity of expression, and the wonderful command of language and varied forms of versification which so remarkably characterize the poems of Shelley and Tennyson, may be traced largely to the influence of Dryden. Dryden was born in 1631, and died in 1701. He was contemporary, therefore, for many years, with the influences which were leading to the English Revolution. His political opinions seem at first to have been liberal. On the death of Oliver Cromwell we find him writing a poem in honor of the Lord Protector; but he wrote poems with equal zeal in eulogy of Charles II., and followed the Stuart dynasty, with ready service, in all its subsequent retrograde and despotic career. Under Charles II. he was made poet-laureate and historiographer to the crown. In the reign of James II. he so far consulted the prevalent sentiment at court as to become himself a Roman Catholic. After the accession of William and Mary, this fact disqualifying him for office, he lost these positions, with the emoluments attached to them, and for the last twelve or thirteen years of his life was dependent entirely upon literary labor for his support. These political changes need not be regarded necessarily as the results of interested



motive. They proceeded rather from the easy yielding of the poet to the prevalent influences around him. It is remarkable, however, that the two men most distinguished in literature, in that period—Jonathan Swift and John Dryden—should have resisted the tendencies which were leading to a new era in the history of England. The result is a significant indication that no amount of intellect, or brilliancy of wit, or keenness of satire, can long arrest the progress of a nation in the development which, through the influences of race, of culture, and of physical conditions, has been predetermined for it by the Almighty Ruler of the world.

Ecclesiastical reform was a subject of very great interest to William III.; and few men have ever been more fitted to counsel and to guide, in such a work, than Edward Stillingfleet. He acquired an extraordinary reputation, when only about twenty-four years of age, by the publication of his great work: “*Irenicum, or the Divine Right of Particular Forms of Church Government Examined.*” There were views expressed in this work which Stillingfleet subsequently modified, but it was the first utterance of a purpose which was the guiding principle of his life. This purpose was the promotion of ecclesiastical unity by large toleration and comprehensiveness. In advocacy of these views, and of Christianity generally, he wrote not only the work just referred to,

but the "*Origines Sacræ*;" two smaller works, one on the Mischief, and the other on the Unreasonableness of Separation; the "*Origines Britannicæ*;" several treatises against Popery, and controversial works against Socinianism, and some of the principles and arguments of Mr. Locke. Of course Stillingfleet's views as to comprehension and toleration found no favor in the reigns of the second Charles and the second James, but in William III. he found a monarch who held the most statesmanlike and Christian views upon this subject. William almost immediately, upon his accession, addressed himself to the solution of this great problem. The difficulty was an inheritance from the Reformation. The divergencies of theological and ecclesiastical opinion were, on the whole, wisely managed during the first century of this period, but the ecclesiastical measures adopted at the Restoration rendered separation a permanent element in English history.

William hoped that it was not too late to heal the difficulties which had arisen. He therefore appointed an ecclesiastical commission, of which Stillingfleet was one of the principal members, with directions that they should revise the Liturgy, so as to do away, if possible, with the objections of the non-conformists. Parliament also took in hand the subject of toleration and comprehension. The legislation, however, which was finally secured, was very im-



SIR W. TEMPLE.

perfect in its kind and degree, and the ecclesiastical commission at last closed its sessions without reporting the result of their labor. This failure in church reform may have been owing largely to apprehensions in regard to the non-juring schism, and to the feeling, on the part of the Government, that measures designed to conciliate the non-conformists might provoke new secessions to the non-jurors.

The principles which guided Stillingfleet in these great questions were right and true ; but it is better, probably, that they did not take form at that time in the measures proposed. There are certain processes in society which are of slow development. They depend upon the growth and diffusion of reason and right feeling, and any attempt to hasten their development, without the presence of the concurrent conditions, will impair their efficiency, and prevent the final attainment of the natural and healthful result.

The consideration thus far of the representative men of the period of the English Revolution has led us from the realm of metaphysics, through the paths of natural philosophy, literature and poetry, theology and Church polity, to the sphere of public affairs and statesmanship. It does not seem difficult to select the representative man of the period in this sphere. Sir William Temple has claims to that position which it would be idle to deny. This will appear from a

brief consideration of the place which he filled in public affairs, from the Restoration to the Revolution. Soon after the accession of Charles II., the relations between England and Holland, which had been cordial and intimate in the time of Cromwell, were seriously disturbed. The sympathies of the court were with France, and, under cover of that sympathy, Louis XIV. began to carry out the favorite project of his life, the annexation of the Spanish provinces upon the eastern frontier of France. This project was of course full of peril both to England and Holland. The dissatisfaction in England with the position of the Government was very great. At this juncture Sir William Temple requested permission of the Government to visit Holland and confer with the Government of that country upon the condition of affairs. At that time John De Witt ruled Holland. The result of negotiations, which were carried on with great ability on both sides, was that, on January 1, 1668, Charles, in council, declared his approval and acceptance of the league proposed by De Witt and Temple. This league, in which Sweden joined, and which is known as the Triple Alliance, was the first real check to the schemes of Louis of France, and foreshadowed the great coalition of which William III. was the head.

It soon became evident, however, that the Government of England must learn a terrible lesson before

the obligations of the Triple Alliance could be fulfilled. Sir William Temple, as ambassador to the Hague, found himself constantly embarrassed and frustrated by the secret sympathy of the court with France. He withdrew from Holland, retired to his country-seat in England, and devoted himself to authorship. Then was the whole aspect of affairs changed. England and France declared war against Holland. The wildest consternation prevailed throughout the United Provinces. De Witt was torn in pieces by a mob, and Protestantism throughout Europe seemed in danger of being overthrown.

It was impossible that such an unnatural alliance as that of England and France, against Holland, should long continue. Public sentiment in England asserted itself so fiercely that the king was powerless to continue the war. There was but one course to pursue, and the author of the Triple Alliance was recalled from his retirement, and charged with the responsibility of negotiating a separate peace with Holland.

Upon the conclusion of peace, which, by Temple's influence, was speedily secured, it became evident that a war with France could not be long averted. It was at this juncture that an event occurred, very largely through Temple's agency, full of the greatest importance, in the great struggle which soon followed,

the marriage of the Prince of Orange and the Princess Mary.

While the influence of Sir William Temple was deeply felt after the accession of William and Mary, he did not engage actively in public affairs. He refused, as he had repeatedly done, the office of Secretary of State, and devoted his time mainly to literary pursuits. His connection with the Revolution and with the reign of William III. is principally important on account of the share which he had in shaping affairs which contributed so remarkably to the success of William in the great coalition against France. There have been few men who have rendered better service to their country, in a great emergency, than Sir William Temple. There was no one in his age who understood more clearly the nature of the crisis through which England was passing. He lived to see the transition safely accomplished, and died in 1699, at the close of this most eventful century in England's history. His body rests in Westminster Abbey, the mausoleum of so many of the mighty dead. His heart was buried at Moor Park, which he loved so well, and beneath the sun-dial which had measured the days and years of the extraordinary period in which the great statesman had lived.

This consideration of the representative men of the period of the English Revolution needs, for its completeness, some notice of the career of the Duke



JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

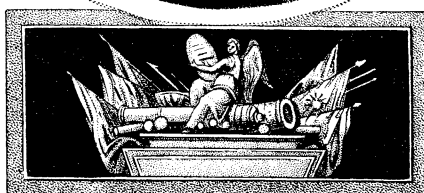
of Marlborough, by whose power and genius in the field the results of that great Revolution were permanently secured.

It is not necessary, in this notice, to consider the career of Marlborough except as it has a direct bearing upon the facts and principles involved in the Revolution and as it tends to illustrate the wonderful position which William III. holds in English history. In this respect the achievements of the Duke of Marlborough, as a soldier, are remarkably associated with those of Sir William Temple as a statesman. Both of them were the chief instruments in carrying out the great ideas and purposes of the Prince of Orange, in regard to European policy. From his earliest entrance upon public life, William was haunted with the scheme of a great coalition against the vast and increasing power of France, and for the protection of liberty and Protestantism in Europe. He valued men chiefly as they could afford him aid in this cherished project.

Sir William Temple's residence in Holland rendered him thoroughly familiar with the views of the Prince of Orange. These views had his unqualified approval, and his diplomatic efforts were directed to their accomplishment and to the elevation of William to the English throne. As Temple's political career was almost completed before the accession of William, so Marlborough's achievements, in maintaining the

coalition which William created, had scarcely begun, when William was removed by death. Born in 1650, the Duke of Marlborough was more than fifty years of age when he entered upon those wonderful campaigns which have reflected imperishable glory upon English arms. His military career, for the most part, followed the reign of William and Mary, but it was simply the establishing, by arms, of the great principles by which the life of William had been governed.

We must not fail to notice, in such an account as this, the peculiar domestic circumstances of the Duke of Marlborough which exercised so large an influence upon his career. He married Sarah Jennings, who had been brought up in the household of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and a strong attachment and intimacy existed between her and the second daughter of the Duke, afterwards Queen Anne. The Duchess of Marlborough had such a thorough knowledge of political affairs, and so much of natural quickness and ability, that, in connection with her position at court, she was able to exercise a powerful influence in her husband's behalf. He was profited or injured by the alternations of favor or disgrace which occurred in the Duchess's relations with Anne. And yet such was the great ability of Marlborough, that, even though he might be the victim of neglect and ingratitude in peaceful times, the



QUEEN ANNE.

Government was compelled to seek his services in every great emergency.

I do not propose to enter upon any of those questions in regard to the character of the Duke of Marlborough which occupy so much of the history of the time. The question of his treasonable relations with James II., or of his avarice and parsimony, have no special bearing upon the points now to be illustrated.

Passing over the earlier life of Marlborough, we come to the period when William III. recognized the absolute necessity of securing his services, in order to the accomplishment of his great designs. So strong was this conviction in the mind of William, that he ignored the supposed treasonable practices of Marlborough, and determined to place him in a position which would secure his loyalty to the reigning family.

The death of Mary led to a reconciliation between the King and the Princess Anne, from whom both he and the Queen had been long estranged. In connection with this reconciliation, the King appointed the Duke of Marlborough governor of the Duke of Gloucester, with strong expressions of confidence and esteem. In the year 1700 the condition of things in Europe appeared exceedingly unfavorable to the designs of William. The crisis which precipitated a general European war was the death of

Charles II., King of Spain. Louis XIV. claimed the succession for his grandson, Philip, Duke of Anjou. The same claim to Spain and all its immense dependencies was made by the Emperor Leopold. Louis XIV. was placed at this time in a specially advantageous position. He had formed alliances with the Elector of Bavaria, with Portugal, and with the two Sicilies. He had secured a free entry into Italy by a treaty with the Duke of Savoy, and had an opportunity in Lombardy for a basis of operations against Austria.

Marlborough, with William III., arrived at the Hague on the first of July, 1701, and immediately commenced negotiations which were designed to reconstruct and extend the coalition, the foundations of which William had already laid. In these negotiations he displayed consummate ability, and met at once, under circumstances of great discouragement, with remarkable success.

It was in the following year that William III. died, exhorting Queen Anne, his successor, to rely upon Marlborough for counsel in the state and for the command of her armies in the field. Immediately upon her accession, she announced her determination to maintain the alliances made by her predecessor, and, in furtherance of this purpose, it was determined by Marlborough and the representatives of the Emperor that war against France should be

declared, on the same day, at London, Vienna, and the Hague.

After the death of William, and before the first campaign of Marlborough, some of the smaller German States joined the alliance. At the opening of the campaign, the allies, under the command of Ginckel, were in the vicinity of Cleves. Cohorn, with about 10,000 men, was at the mouth of the Scheldt. The Margrave of Baden was on the Upper Rhine. The Prince of Saarbruck, with about 22,000 men, was besieging Keyserwerth. The main body of the French army, under the Duke of Burgundy and Marshal Boufflers, was on the Meuse and in the fortress of Liege. Marshal Tallard, with 10,000 men, was marching to the relief of Keyserwerth, and the Count Delamotte and the Marquis of Bedmar guarded the western frontier of the Spanish Netherlands. As the result of this campaign, Keyserwerth was compelled to surrender. The French were compelled to retreat, and Venloo, Ruremond, and Steenswaert, fortresses of the Meuse, were invested and reduced by the allies. Liege was taken, and the navigation of the Meuse, and the entire Dutch frontier, were wrested from the power of France.

In the campaign of the next year it would seem to have been the main object of Marlborough to get possession of Ostend and Antwerp. It was the plan of Louis to push his troops, under the Duke of

Vendome, through the Tyrol, to be joined by the French and Bavarians, in a combined movement upon Vienna. The plans of Marlborough and Louis alike failed, and the results of the campaign were disappointing to both.

It was in the next year that the grandest achievements of Marlborough were made. With his clear insight and broad comprehensiveness, he saw, what no one else, unless it were the Prince Eugene, was able to see, the exact thing which it was necessary for the allies to do. He matured his plans and made his preparations in secret, or with the knowledge and counsel only of the Prince Eugene. When all was ready, he swept, with the allied armies, to the astonishment of all Europe, from the Moselle to the Danube. It was a blow of terrible severity to the French. The same campaign witnessed the successful assault upon the Schellenberg, and the world-renowned victory of Blenheim.

Then came, in successive campaigns, the battle of Ramillies, the conquest of Flanders, the battle of Oudenarde, the fall of Lille, the capture of Ghent, and the glorious battle of Malplaquet. Then followed one of those periods which had not been infrequent in the career of the great Duke. After all these marvellous achievements by which the French power was restrained and Protestantism saved, political jealousy and personal hatred were able to de-

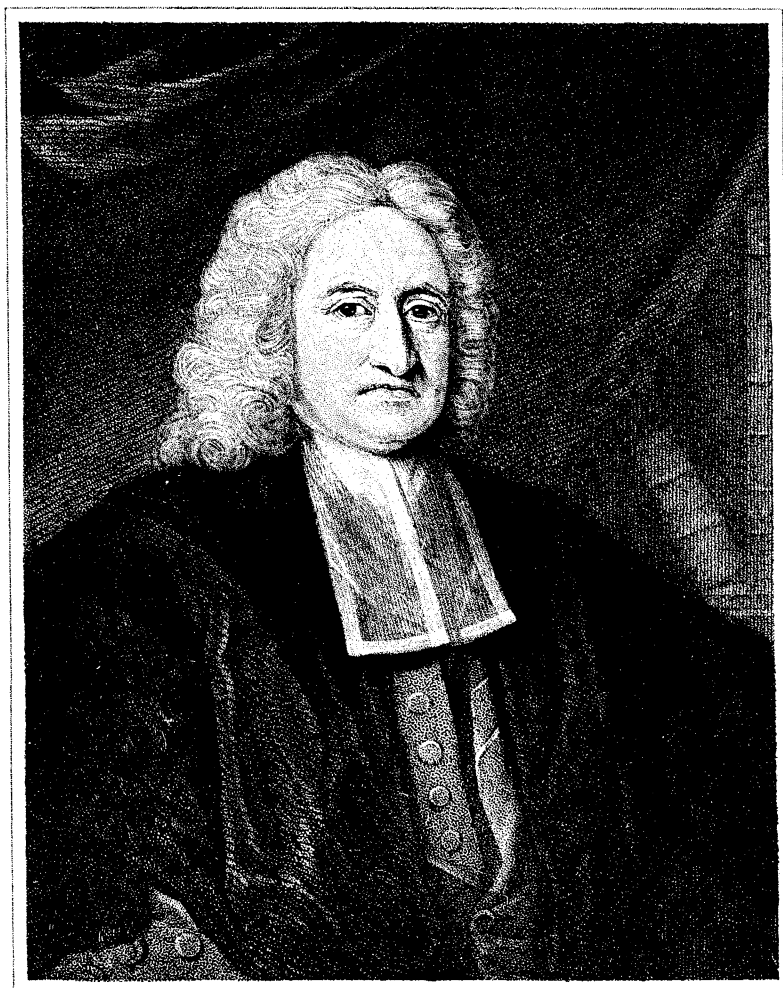
prive Marlborough of his command and all his honors. He retired from the scene of his imperishable glory into private life, and when the peace of Utrecht was consummated, the results, though immensely important and valuable, were less than Marlborough could have secured for England and the other allied powers.

Mr. Edward Everett, in his celebrated oration on the character of Washington, sees fit to draw a comparison or contrast between him and the Duke of Marlborough. He represents himself as standing before the tablet on which are inscribed the names of the great victories which Marlborough won, Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet. Gradually, he says, as in an ancient palimpsest, the inscription disappeared, and in its place were to be seen the words, Avarice, Treason, Eternal Infamy. The peerless attitude in which Washington stands in history renders it unnecessary that any attempt should be made to raise him to a higher comparative elevation, by hurling others down from the eminences of their glory. I do not care, as I have already intimated, to enter upon a consideration of the personal character of the Duke of Marlborough; but I do not hesitate to say that, for the glory which she has gained in arms, England is more indebted to him than to any other man, except the Duke of Wellington; and that for the preservation, in dire extremity,

of a great cause, which represented liberty, intelligence, and progress, the whole world is more indebted to John, Duke of Marlborough, than to any man, except William, Prince of Orange.

I have, on another occasion, before this Society, considered, fully and in detail, the life and career of William, Prince of Orange, and afterwards William III. of England. He is the central figure, around whom are grouped the extraordinary men whose relation to the Revolution of 1688 we have just reviewed. I am confident that his true place in history has not yet been assigned him. He was grossly misunderstood in his own day, and has been grossly misunderstood ever since. His position as a foreigner in England prevented the English people from a full appreciation of his pre-eminent services and devotion. He was the object of the most bitter and deadly partisan hatred and persecution. The horse from which he fell, receiving an injury from which he died, was habitually toasted at Jacobite dinners. Dignified historians of eminent reputation have not failed to perpetuate slanders as to his personal character. The time will come when the world will recognize his true relation to one of the greatest epochs in the history of the race.

There is one point of view in which it is eminently fitting that we should gratefully cherish his memory, especially in this centennial year, when everything



HALLEY.

in relation to the development of this country has acquired a new significance and interest. William III. was pre-eminently the friend and benefactor of the American colonies. Go to the South, and there, in old Virginia, is that imperishable monument to his wise forethought, the College of William and Mary. Here, in the City of New York, you have in our Society Library the evidence of his deep interest in the intelligence and education of the people. Go to New England, and they will tell you of the deputation sent by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in the person of the venerable Increase Mather, to remonstrate with the crown against the withdrawal of the charter, and the tyrannies of Sir Edmund Andros, and of the kindly consideration which their representative received from William and the extent to which their requests were granted. It is an interesting fact also that the Government of William III. in 1695 vetoed the Law of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, by which witchcraft was made punishable by death.

There are other evidences also of the deep interest which *William* took in the American colonies. When sending the astronomer Halley, of whom I have previously spoken, upon a scientific expedition to make experiments in regard to terrestrial magnetism, he especially directed him to call at his Majesty's settlements in America, and make

such further observations as were necessary for the better laying down the longitude and latitude of those places. He also instructed the Earl of Bellamont to make provision for the education of Negroes and Indians under his jurisdiction.

But these are only an insignificant portion of the services for which we, in common with the world, owe him imperishable gratitude. It is with this sentiment that we have brought before ourselves these forms of the mighty dead by whom he was surrounded, in order that we might the better, as it were, “watch, fold by fold, the bracing on of his Vulcanian panoply, and observe with pleased anxiety the leading forth of that chariot, which, borne on irresistible wheels, and drawn by steeds of immortal race, is to crush the necks of the mighty and sweep away the serried strength of armies.”

The greatest benefit, however, which he conferred upon these and the other colonies under his dominion remains yet to be mentioned. This was the establishment of the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.” This Society, formed and chartered by William III., was, during the colonial period, the source of incalculable blessings of education and religion to our original thirteen States; and it continues to the present day a fountain of salutary influence to the Colonies of Great Britain. The formation of this Society was one of

the last public acts of his life. The historian of the Society, in concluding his work, uses the words: "After having rescued the Protestant religion in Europe and saved the Church of England here, he did, by this last act as it were, bequeath it to his American subjects as the most valuable legacy and greatest blessing."

There is something very touching in the last few years and in the final close of the life of William. This period was darkened by the bitter sorrow which he experienced at the loss of his beloved wife. He suffered greatly from physical pain and infirmity, and found himself more and more alone—a stranger among a people whom he loved, and most earnestly desired to rule wisely and well. He pressed forward, however, most heroically in the accomplishment of the great designs which he had conceived, until his sudden death, a consequence of a fall from his horse. In view of all that he achieved for his kingdom and for the world, we may well apply to him the language of Milton in the "Samson Agonistes." He to his Country

"Honor hath left and Freedom * * *
To himself and Father's house eternal fame ;
And, which is best and happiest yet, all this
With God not parted from him, * * * *
But favoring and assisting to the end."

